

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 AF-08 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 AID-05 EB-08 TRSE-00 OMB-01 COME-00 DHA-02

ORM-02 /097 W

-----111221Z 123690 /12

R 111015Z MAR 77

FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0016

INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY GABORNE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMCONSUL CAPETOWN

USMISSION GENEVA

USMISSION USUN

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 STOCKHOLM 1081

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, SW, SF, RH, ZA, TZ, KE

SUBJECT: VISIT OF SWEDISH AID MINISTER TO SOUTHERN AFRICA

REF: (A) STOCKHOLM 709, (B) STOCKHOLM 820,

(C) STOCKHOLM 1046 (NOTAL), (D) DAR ES SALAAM 939

1. EMBASSY OFFICER DISCUSSED TWO WEEK TRIP OF SWEDISH

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MINISTER FOR DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE OLA ULLSTEN TO KENYA, ZAMBIA AND TANZANIA WITH MFA OFFICIAL HANDLING AFRICAN AFFAIRS (BO HEINEBACK). HEINEBACK FOCUSED ON THE POLITICAL ASPECTS OF THE VISIT AND THE PROSPECTS FOR FUTURE SWEDISH AID TO SOUTHERN AFRICA.

2. ULLSTEN'S VISIT HAD TWO PURPOSES: TO ENABLE HIM TO FAMILIARIZE HIMSELF WITH SWEDISH FOREIGN AID ACTIVITY IN

COUNTRIES WHICH ARE MAJOR RECIPIENTS OF SWEDISH ASSISTANCE, AND TO OBTAIN A FIRST-HAND ASSESSMENT OF THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA ON BEHALF OF THE GOS. THE SWEDISH DELEGATION CAME AWAY SATISFIED THAT THE CHANGE TO NON-SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT IN SWEDEN WILL NOT AFFECT AFRICAN ATTITUDES TOWARDS SWEDISH COOPERATION.

3. HEINEBACK, WHO ACCOMPANIED ULLSTEN TO AFRICA, NOTED THAT ULLSTEN PUBLICLY ADMITTED THAT THERE IS A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF INEFFICIENCY AND CORRUPTION IN THE UTILIZATION OF SWEDISH AID IN THESE COUNTRIES, BUT THERE IS NO INCLINATION TO DIMINISH GOS CONTRIBUTIONS. NYERERE, FOR ONE, IS PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN INVOLVING SWEDISH PRIVATE INDUSTRY AND OFFICIAL AID FUNDS IN TANZANIA'S INDUSTRIALIZATION PROGRAM, A PROGRAM WHICH INTERESTS ULLSTEN.

4. NYERERE WAS IN THE FOREFRONT AS MENTOR ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA SINCE HIS VIEWS SEEM TO BE REPRESENTATIVE OF GENERAL AFRICAN ATTITUDES. IT WAS "OBVIOUS", HEINEBACK SAID, THAT NYERERE IN PARTICULAR IS PESSIMISTIC ABOUT THE FUTURE OF THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE, AND ANTICIPATES PERHAPS FOUR YEARS OF ARMED STRUGGLE. KAUNDA SHARE THIS VIEW, BUT WAS SOMEWHAT MORE OPTIMISTIC THAT THE GOAL COULD BE MORE QUICKLY REACHED. THE LEADERS HAVE NOT ABANDONED ALL HOPE OF A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT, HEINEBACK ADDED, BUT FEEL THE POSSIBILITIES FOR PEACEFUL RESOLUTION IN ZIMBABWE ARE CONFIDENTIAL

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VIRTUALLY EXHAUSTED DUE TO SMITH'S INTRANSIGENCE. NYERERE FLOATED THE THOUGHT THAT PERHAPS THE BRITISH COULD SETTLE WITH THE NATIONALISTS DIRECTLY, FACING SMITH WITH A FAIT ACCOMPLI, AND THE US AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY COULD AID IN IMPLEMENTATION, BUT HE WAS NOT OPTIMISTIC THAT THIS WOULD HAPPEN. HEINEBACK EXPLAINED THAT THE AFRICANS SEEMED TO BE FOLLOWING SIMULTANEOUS COURSES OF ARMED STRUGGLE AND NEGOTIATION, HOPING DESPAIRINGLY FOR THE LATTER WHILE GIRDING FOR THE FORMER, SHIFTING FROM ONE TO THE OTHER AS CIRCUMSTANCES CHANGE. THE MAJOR QUESTION IN THE MINDS OF THE AFRICANS AT THE MOMENT, HEINEBACK POINTED OUT, IS WHAT COURSE THE NEW US ADMINISTRATION WILL ADOPT TO MOVE THINGS OFF CENTER.

5. SWEDISH AID TO THE LIBERATION GROUPS WAS A MAJOR TOPIC OF DISCUSSION, WITH ULLSTEN SOLICITING FRONT LINE VIEWS ON THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. BOTH KAUNDA AND NYERERE STRESSED THAT THEY WANTED TO SUPPORT THOSE WHO

ARE CARRYING OUT THE ARMED STRUGGLE IN ZIMBABWE, BUT HAVE NOT EXCLUDED THE POSSIBILITY THAT MUZOREWA COULD JOIN THE PF. IT BECAME QUITE CLEAR, HEINEBACK SAID, THAT THE FRONT LINE STATES WOULD NOT, AS THEY HAVE PREVIOUSLY, OBJECT TO DIRECT SWEDISH AID TO ZANU AND ZAPU (REF B & D). THE GOS DELEGATION ALSO MET WITH ZANU AND ZAPU REPRESENTATIVES AND ASKED FOR MORE DETAILED AND SPECIFIC REQUESTS FOR AID.

6. THE SWEDES, ACCORDING TO HEINEBACK, ARE NOT YET TOTALLY CONVINCED THAT ZANU AND ZAPU CAN INDEED FORM A

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 STOCKHOLM 1081

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

VIALE UNITED FRONT, AND ARE WAITING FOR MORE CONCRETE RESULTS. HOWEVER, THE SWEDES WERE INTERESTED TO SEE THAT

THE GROUPS APPEARED TO BE CONCERNED WITH "HARMONIZING" THEIR VIEWS, AS THEY SAID, TO AVOID THE REPETITION OF ANGOLA-STYLE CHAOS. IN ANY EVENT, HEINEBACK CONCLUDED, THE GOS WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY DIRECTLY AID THE PF WHEN A SUITABLE REQUEST IS MADE, WITH THE MONEY PRESUMABLY DESTINED FOR THE REFUGEE CAMPS. IT REMAINS VAGUE WHEN  
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SUCH AID WILL BEGIN, SINCE A REQUEST HAS YET TO BE MADE AND THEN THE GOS MUST TAKE A FORMAL DECISION. WHILE PRESS REPORTS HAVE SPECULATED THAT THE AMOUNT MIGHT BE 4 MILLION KRONOR A YEAR, NO FIGURES HAVE BEEN SERIOUSLY DISCUSSED.

7. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION, HEINEBACK CONFIRMED (SEE REF C) THAT ULLSTEN HAD RAISED THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND WITH BOTH NYERERE AND KAUNDA TO GET THEIR REACTION. THE PROPOSAL WAS NOT DISCUSSED IN DETAIL, BUT NEITHER WAS ENTHUSIASTIC. THOUGH SWEDES WERE NOT SURE HOW MUCH THE AFRICAN KNEW ABOUT THE SPECIFICS OF THE PROPOSAL, THEY DID NOT GO BYOND A SUPERFICIAL DISCUSSION.  
PERRY

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